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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

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claimed that the commune should be the main unit of social organization of mankind. In the commune, it was not force or external coerciveness, not the minority or majority rule, but the collective mind, the inner motivations, the principle of unanimity and organic totality that prevailed.[13] It is only by being completely rooted in his own community and completely identified with his own people that man can be creative and can reach all-human ideas, they said.

In such a society in which the state disappears in the Church and in which the commune becomes the basic unit of social organization, instead of external and formal law and authority imposed from above, emotional bonds of unity, self-discipline, informal egalitarian justice and charity will prevail.[13] It is only in such an integrated community which has been fused with the Church and in which the total and organic unity of all members is established that real freedom of the individual can be realized,[14] according to Slavophilism.

Slavophil ideas exerted considerable political influence in Russia and in the rest of the Slav world. Exposed to the growing pressure of imperial designs of Western powers, and embarked on a program of their own imperial expansion in the direction of the Mediterranean and the Pacific, some of Russia's political circles welcomed Slavophil ideas as an ideological justification of Russia's foreign policies. Thus the idea of protection of Orthodox and of Slav peoples,[15] the idea of defense of the Slavs against the encroachments of the Germans and the idea of uniqueness and superiority of Slav culture played an important role in a series of nationalist movements and wars in which Russia became involved since the middle of the nineteenth century.

According to this Pan-Slav movement Russia was the only Christian land, the world outside Russia was "the land of the anti-Christ," the "incorporation of Satan." Accordingly, struggle with the West was not only inevitable, but necessary and salutary, both for Russia and the rest of humankind. And the victory will be undoubtedly on the side of Russia.[16]

For the continuance of its organic life the world required a centre. This centre must be found in a single nation able to

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lead the others. Russia was therefore predestined to fulfill this world mission. Hence the Pan-Slavs looked to Moscow, the ancient Russian capital, not the Westernized "City of Peter" (Petersburg) as the heart of Russia[17] and of mankind of the future—the Third Rome.

15
REVOLT OF THE RAZNOCHINTSY INTELLIGENTSIA (NIHILISM AND ANARCHISM)

I

BY THE second part of the nineteenth century, new changes were taking place in the economic relations as well as in the political and class structure of the Czardom. First of all, the process of disintegration of the old order under the impact of the industrialization and bureaucratization was rapidly coming to an end. Serfdom was abolished and with it there came the disastrous ruin of manorial estates which were not prepared to cope with the difficulties of a money and market economy. The result was that the number of impoverished and pauperized gentry was greatly increased.

At the same time the new laws tended to place emphasis on property. Thus, for instance, in the local assemblies of the noblemen the elective franchise was granted only to noblemen possessing a certain amount of land or a certain value of industrial establishment. This difference in civil rights according to the amount of property introduced a sharp cleavage into the gentry class. Earlier all dvorianstvo and all chinovnichestvo were considered equal in rights and had at least theoretically an equal chance to rise in power or to win the favor of the Czar. But now the new laws disfranchised and declassed a large part of the gentry. Similar laws favored the richer class among the merchants which meant that even in municipal affairs birth and education decreased in value in comparison with wealth.[1]

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This trend to expropriate the peasants and to overspecialize them as a means of political and economic control found its expression in the recent development of Bolshevik ideology. In the utterances of Party leaders and in the Soviet press it is being stressed that the conditions in the Soviet Union are already so advanced that the Soviet state is ready to move from socialism into the first levels of a limited Communism. This first phase of Communism will consist of the elimination of differences between industrial and agricultural work, between industrial workers and the peasantry ("Liquidating the contrast between the city and the village"). Thus it is pointed out, the old opposition between the country and the city will vanish and also cultural and psychological differences between these two strata will disappear. Every person will become engaged in a special "technical-engineering" task and all will be equal and like brothers.

As a result of such development, it is said that even the differences between the manual laborer and the intellectual worker will eventually be abolished and thus the classless and anarchic society envisaged in socialist writings and rooted in the traditions of the Slav culture will be finally achieved.[11] Productive forces will develop an abundance of all consumer goods whose distribution will be on the basis of exchange and according to one's needs. There will be no monetary relations and no differences in social status.

It is clearly and repeatedly emphasized, however, that nobody should mistake this change from socialism to communism as a "withering away" of the state. The state, say the Bolsheviks, must remain "strong" for the needs of defense,[12] until the Soviet system spreads over the entire earth.

II

Total power concentrated in the hands of Bolshevik conspirators as a means of perpetuation of their rule led to compulsory regimentation of all labor, to speed-up system, and to intensified differentiation in skill, income, and status within the working classes. The aim of these measures is to increase production and to control the working classes by breaking their group solidarity and by tying the laborer to his machine and the office worker to

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[30]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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829 It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.[4]

This trend of thought, dictated by the determination to perpetuate themselves in power, led the Bolsheviks to reinterpret the philosophy of dialectical materialism and determinism. Con-
828 trary to early Socialistic doctrines the ruling Bolshevik faction
153 put forward the claim that by a correct manipulation of man's environment, his behavior and nature can be easily changed to suit predetermined objectives. The "unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice," the Bolsheviks say, enables them to know how and in what direction the events "ought to develop."

The Bolshevik design is, therefore, to develop a "new type of man" more amenable to submission and control. "We make tractors, but also want to make new men," they say, "since man can consciously change nature in the direction needed by him."[5]
827 Therefore the chromosome theory of heredity according to which heredity depends upon the genes which cannot be controlled, had to be denounced as heresy from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism.[6] Instead, the Michurin-Lysenko theory according to which environment determines heredity ("hereditary transmission of individual characteristics acquired by the organism under the conditions of its life") was proclaimed as "the only scientific principles."[7] Thus since the physical environment becomes amenable to control, the hereditary characteristics of man could be planned in advance, according to these ideas.

Supported by such theories and encouraged by Party policies, some Soviet scientists advanced the claim to have been able to "conquer nature." They stated that they have shown the way how it is possible to produce "new species" under a planned change of environmental conditions.[8] Other Soviet scientists have initiated studies which are expected to lead to the "transformation of dead matter into living cells."[9] In like manner, the official endorsement of Pavlov's school in physiology has been prompted by the hope that studies of the functioning of the

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avantgarde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daily come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

ooo Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.[56]

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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viks say.[57] The bourgeois countries are therefore inescapably crippled and inevitably doomed beyond any hope of recovery whatsoever.[58] The only way out of such an unbearable situation for the capitalists is to "turn the whole planet into a police station, under American supervision."[59] Hence the capitalists prepare for war and imperialistic expansion as the only way to maintain their power. They tend to encircle the Soviet Union and attack it. Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."[60]

Propaganda concerning the inevitable doom of capitalism is aimed at discouraging hopes for change in the Soviet system. Such propaganda supports the myth of the infallibility and invincibility of the Soviet system; the inevitability of the coming economic crises in the capitalist world, especially in the United States, will lead to the final breakdown of the capitalist system, the victory of the Soviets, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.[61] At the same time the claim that the capitalistic powers will resort to aggression as a last hope to save their dwindling system functions as a justification for aggressive diplomacy and strategic expansion; it strengthens the demands for greater sacrifices and deprivations in favor of police measures and war preparedness. The emphasis on the inevitability of war justifies also the increasing centralization of power and "iron discipline" within the Party ranks.

VI

Following Turco-Mongol and Czarist traditions, Bolshevik leaders believe that training in unconditional submission to superiors, identification with the powerful and faith in victory can be best achieved if the whole society is militarized. Militarization is looked upon as the best morale builder. When militarily organized, people are more amenable to control. Also a powerful army under the Party's control strengthens the confidence of uneasy and mistrustful rulers in their ability to check internal opposition and withstand external pressures or attacks. A powerful army is also a necessary instrument for aggressive diplomacy and territorial expansion; it becomes an instrument

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665 701 with the real rank and uniform of general or perhaps even with that of marshal.

24
FAMILY BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

I

PROMPTED by drives of destructive aggression and supported by the ideological traditions of Nihilism and Anarchism, the Bolsheviks were determined to destroy the family in order to have unchallenged control over the training of children and the molding of their personalities. Their view was that there was not much that they could do with the parents, but that "the children belonged to the Party." Such a trend of thought was supported also by an intense reaction of many people against the old patriarchal and despotic family pattern which existed in the Czardom. There was a strong desire on the part of many family members to liberate themselves from the old practices of parental and marital authority and discipline. It was in such an atmosphere that the Bolshevik Party at first introduced a series of decrees and measures which greatly facilitated the dissolution of family ties.[1]

The Bolsheviks, however, soon realized that the family could not be allowed to disintegrate without dire consequences for their regime which was bent upon rapid industrialization and militarization and was in great need of manpower. Also as a result of wars, famines and a growing number of broken families, there were hundreds of thousands of homeless and neglected children and aged people. Care for these proved too great a burden for an economy which had to use all its available resources primarily for state security and war preparedness. Thus instead of destroying the family the Bolsheviks decided to maintain it but to manipulate it so as to use it as an instrument

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of the new order. The family, therefore, as all other institutions of the Soviet society, was to be reconstructed and regimented in such a way as to best serve the purposes and the objectives of the new ruling class.

As a result of such a change in attitude and reversal of policy the Bolsheviks have introduced laws and decrees whose aim has been to impose mutual responsibilities and obligations on family members. The new laws have also favored "indissolubility" of marriage ties and encouraged large families. At the same time, however, the family has been placed under the guidance, control and overseeing of the Party and of the government authorities. In consequence of a series of laws and decrees, the Soviet family has been given the task of training children in discipline, in collective responsibility, in obedience to authorities and in faith in Bolshevism. Just as the Soviet school, the Soviet family has been given the task of helping to train willing toilers, zealous labor drivers and agitators, and fearless fighters for the cause of world Communism.[2]

Following the traditions of the Russian patriarchal family and in order to make the parents an instrument of the training of children in obedience to authorities, parents have been made legally responsible for the behavior of their children. Prosecution by civil and criminal law, administrative fines and prison terms[3] have been established against the parents whose children came into conflict with administrative regulations or existing laws. Just as in the Domostroi the parents are encouraged to be strict and non-indulgent, and to rely on frequent punishment as a means of correction; they are also encouraged to be authoritative and to keep a necessary distance from children so that their authority is not undermined by unnecessary intimacy. The parents have been given joint rights of discipline but subjected to government and Party control.[4]

This interference of the Party-state into the family relationships has been backed also by another law according to which parental rights have been subordinated to the interest of children. The "interests of children" are determined according to the Party interests and views; the court has been empowered to deprive the parents of their parental rights whenever the Party

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author, wrote a well known poem under the title *"Ubey ego"*—kill him.[14] In a similar manner Alexey Tolstoy, a well-known Soviet novelist, has published an essay entitled *Ubey Zverya*—Kill the Beast. "Kill him," writes Alexey Tolstoy, "that is your sacred command."[15] Mikhail Sholokhov, another prominent Soviet writer, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Nauka Nenavisti*—The Science of Hatred—in which he stressed, in a like way as the early Russian Anarchists and contemporary Soviet pedagogists, the necessity of ardent love for the Cause as a source of passionate hatred of all the opponents. To him, too, love seems to be necessary primarily as a means of hate.[16] "Hatred for enemies of the land of socialism is an inseparable feature of socialist ideology and the ideology of Leninism," the Bolsheviks repeatedly say.

Under the label "enemies" are classed not only the foreign "capitalists, imperialists, and reactionaries," and internal non-Party oppositionists, but also Party members who deviate from Party ideology, and "all sceptics, opportunists, capitulators, scabs, and traitors." Hatred and struggle against these "enemies" within the Party must be as merciless and ruthless as against external adversaries. This is considered to be imperative in a mortal struggle against the capitalist world:

> The history of the Party . . . teaches us that unless the Party of the working class wages an uncompromising struggle against the opportunists within its own ranks, unless it smashes the capitulators in its own midst . . . it cannot perform its role of organizer and leader of the proletarian revolution . . . If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class will be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly such a struggle can only end in defeat.[17]

This conscious fomenting of intense hostility and animosity against internal, as well as external "enemies" as a means of survival in a "mortal struggle" is manifested in the language of Bolshevism. The words "liquidation" and "purge" which are often synonomous with killing and extermination of opponents became outstanding in Soviet vocabulary. There is an increasing use of words which convey ideas of hatred and violence and stimulate such feelings and practices. In Bolshevik stereotyped termi-

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dissenters, in the civil wars as well as in the struggle between the Czarist police and the revolutionary intelligentsia; it was even formulated as an ideology and became a credo of Anarchism.

In the Bolshevik ideology this anti-humanism is justified by representing the "enemies" as not being human beings. Just as in the folk attitudes toward enemy aliens, the oppositionists and the adversaries, actual and potential, real and imaginary, are identified in Bolshevik writings with "gnats," "insects," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild beasts," and "beasts of prey." It is by such ways of reasoning that the Soviet pedagogists have come to the assertion that indoctrination of the people with "burning hatred" of the enemy does not contradict the ideas of humanism, because, they claim, the ideas of humanism and humane feelings do not apply to beasts. In this manner even acts of cruelty toward the "enemies" are condoned and encouraged:

> Hatred of the enemies of the socialist Motherland by no means contradicts the principles of humanism, since it is devoted to the protection of the rights and liberty of the worker from the designs of beasts of prey.[24]

The need for such an appeal to extreme animosities against the adversaries is in itself an indication of instability of the Bolshevik system. The ruling faction had to resort to such a means in order to promote complete identification with and fanatical devotion to the Cause and to the Leader. Here, however, we see a noticeable difference between the Czardom and the Soviet Russia. Though the Czarist system often exhibited aspects of extreme ruthlessness, the whole ideological and intellectual development of the Czarist Russia, especially in the last century of its existence, was in the direction of increasing Westernization and humanization. This trend coincided with certain gains in the field of personal, economic, and cultural freedoms in the Czardom.

As a result terrorism and acts of violence, though widely practiced, were not openly advocated as official Czarist policy. Many moderate and conservative factions of the intelligentsia strongly denounced all acts of terror performed either by the government or under the auspices of the revolutionary intelligentsia. One

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One of the outstanding tenets in the philosophy of Russian monasticism whose history is even longer than that of the Czardom was charitable love. Many sects of the *Raskolniki* propagated and practiced principles of humaneness. The Slavophils were especially prominent in advocating the return to an idealized stateless society of benevolent paternalism where brotherhood, Christian love, and compassion would reign. The "Westerners" endeavored to introduce into Russia Western concepts of justice and tolerance, and a humanistic, libertarian and juridical state. Russian belles-lettres, Russian school textbooks, as well as laws and regulations in the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of World War I, bear witness to this trend toward Westernization and humanism.

In Soviet Russia, on the other hand, after a brief initial period of reaction against the old regime which led toward an emphasis on all-human values and equalitarian brotherhood, soon the trend of events pushed the Bolshevik ideology in the opposite direction. The determination of a ruling clique of professional conspirators to maintain themselves in power by any and all means dictated the emphasis on the internal and external "threats" which would justify the intensification of internal "measures of security," and of external aggression. Thus vigilantism and war preparedness, and expansion of internal and external Bolshevik power, became the main base of the policies of the ruling class.[25] Such policies had to be constantly reinforced by a deliberate incitement to hatred and destruction.

The image of Soviet society as being in a constant state of war, not only against foreign enemies but against internal oppositionists, deviationists, spies, saboteurs, and remnants of bourgeois mentality has been determined by a social structure which the Bolshevik rulers themselves have created, but which makes their own power uncertain and precarious. In such circumstances Lenin's idea of a life and death struggle with the "class enemies," the idea that "it's them or us" (*Kto kogo*) has provided the main motivating force of the Party's internal and foreign policies. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their enemies, conscious that they have "either to rule or to die," the Bolsheviks have ruthlessly applied the principle of "obedience

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of human lives. Soviet military policies are little concerned about systematic rotation of units, facilities for recreation, short leaves and furloughs, regular correspondence with home folks, or with the development of techniques to avoid exposure of men to unnecessary risks.[27] As a result of such attitudes the toll of a Soviet division in war time might come up to 90 percent of its men.[28] Even more indifference is shown toward men who were made prisoners, since "they had surrendered and could not fight any more."[29]

IV

Destructive aggressiveness might become self-destructive unless turned outward. Hence constant internal pressure, intrinsic to Soviet power structure, for aggression against the outside world. A policy of external aggressiveness is likely to provoke external threats against which the accumulating hostilities of the subjects can be mobilized. Successful external aggression is also a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and to solidify its rule. The policy of aggression against the outside world implies also the urgency to enhance external security should the policy of expansion provoke international complications.

Early in the development of Bolshevik rule the Communist International and the Communist parties throughout the world have been regimented and employed as instruments of this policy of external expansion, as well as a means of defense against external pressures. It was in accordance with such a trend of events that the Program of the Communist International of 1928, as well as the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International of 1935,[30] emphasized complete identification of the world proletariat with the Soviet power:

> Our road is the road of revolution of the peoples against the oppressors and exploiters. Our will is the will of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Our goal is socialism for the whole of humanity. Our main slogan is the establishment of Soviet power.[31]

In accordance with such need for outward aggression as a relief of internal destructive tensions an ideological distinction

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has been made between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The first is said to be an "unjust war" of imperalists, exploiters and war mongers, the latter is a movement of the peoples to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke or from colonial oppression. It is said that in this "just struggle" of the peoples of the world against oppressors the Soviet Union will unselfishly interfere with its armies to help the people to liberate themselves and also to protect liberated peoples from counter-revolution. It is therefore the duty of the working class and of "progressive-minded people" all over the world to strengthen the might of the Soviet Fatherland as "the center of international revolution":

> Being the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of Socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants, and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, . . . the USSR inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the USSR, the world proletariat for the first time acquires a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the USSR becomes a powerful center of attraction.[32]

In order to make Communist parties a tool of this new "Third Rome" ideology all these parties had to follow in their internal organization the Bolshevik pattern of rigid centralism and of unconditional obedience of all the subordinate organs to the higher bodies.[33] Each local Party had to be centralized in such a manner that its leadership was "endowed with complete power, authority, and ample rights" which would enable it to impose "an iron discipline" over its members.[34] All members were expected to accept such centralized Party leadership with absolute power and to "submit to its dictates."[35] This was possible only if "the strictest military discipline" and "unconditional subordination" were established within the ranks of each Communist Party:

> . . . The Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must

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It was such thoroughly regimented and indoctrinated Party organizations whose leaderships comprised a hard core of violent and unscrupulous fanatics without bonds of personal or local attachment but unconditionally subservient to the Kremlin, that became a powerful instrument in the international aggression of Bolshevism. Promising Utopias to all disgruntled, rejected and disaffected, such parties became the main instrument of the Soviet Union in its territorial annexations, as well as in the formation of a ring of satellite states. The objective of this expansion was always the same: to turn outward the internal tensions, to enhance the economic, the strategic, and the military potential of the Soviet Union, and to increase the power and influence of the Bolshevik hierarchy at home and abroad.

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New modifications in Bolshevik ideology were necessary to explain such policies. The Communist parties in the capitalist countries are now said to be unable by themselves alone to overthrow local bourgeoisies or to prevent a counter-revolution after capitalism has been overthrown. These parties therefore need active help of the Soviet armed forces not only to overthrow the capitalist class, but also to eliminate the possibility of counter-revolution and to protect the national independence of the newly formed Communist controlled states—the "People's Democracies." This "liberating" and "protecting" role of the Soviet Army and complete dependence of liberated states upon the Soviet Union is a replica of the dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships on which the Soviet Union itself has been founded. The dependent states are expected to be ready to defend and protect the Soviets "unconditionally and without hesitation." Such a system of Moscow-satellite relationships is considered so overwhelmingly important by the Kremlin rulers that they demand that their satellite leaders constantly emphasize even in fundamental state laws their dependency upon and subordination to the Soviet Union:

The armed might of the great Soviet Union liberated our country from the yoke of German fascism, smashed the landlords and the capitalistic anti-popular state powers, and opened to our working

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people the road to democratic development. Coming to power after severe struggles with the lords and defenders of the old order, the Hungarian working class, in union with the working peasants, rebuilt our war-destroyed country with the unselfish support of the Soviet Union. Under the guidance of the working class hardened in decade long struggles, benefiting by the experience of the 1919 social revolution, depending on the Soviet Union, our people began laying the foundations of socialism.[40]

To emphasize the superiority of the Soviet Union, its undisputed leadership and dependence of the satellites upon it in the struggle for world revolution, an important distinction has been made in regard to the social and political structure of the dependencies in comparison with that of the Soviet state. Though both are said to be the "dictatorships of the proletariat,"[41] the Soviet state is said to be carrying out the transition from Socialism to Communism; the "people's democracies," on the other hand, are said to be carrying out only the transition from capitalism to Socialism.[42]

Complete political and economic dependence of the satellites upon the Soviet Union is ideologically justified by the claim that the general objectives of world revolution presuppose an industrially as well as a militarily powerful Soviet Union as a base. To this primary objective of all Communists local interests of the satellites must be subordinated. Therefore, any opposition to such plans or any hints that the "fraternal assistance" offered by the Soviet Union in the interest of the revolution might not be completely unselfish is immediately castigated as "nationalism," as "opportunism," and as "treason":

> The essential task, that of laying the foundation of Socialism in Poland, can be carried only in close alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union . . . Any tendency to weaken cooperation with the Soviet Union is directed against the very foundation of the People's Democracy . . . Anyone who imagines that the people's democratic state can be formed merely as a self-sufficient body, on a national scale, isolated from the class struggle on an international scale . . . will inevitably sink into the slough of nationalism and treachery.[43]

This system of political, military and economic dominance of the dependencies implies an elaborate system of watching, super-